

In fact

For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

(No. 19) Vol. II, No. 6  412 Jan. 27, 1941

George Seldes, Editor.

Published every two weeks and copyright, 1941, in the U. S. A., by IN FACT, Inc., Chatham-Phenix Building, Long Island City, New York
Special Introductory offer 25 cents for twenty-two issues. 30 cents a year. Foreign, \$1.00 a year.

U. S. Will Decide Fate of Britain

(Editorial Note: As IN FACT stated on Jan 13, it has no editorial policy, but publishes the facts, especially those suppressed or buried by commercial press. About 100% of the press informs America that Hitler-Germany is not a democracy; less than 1% tells the facts about Britain. IN FACT will continue to publish facts about fascism, including British and American, which press omits.)

WASHINGTON correspondents, confidential newsletters, and independent journals informed a small fraction of the American people months ago that the Second European War was a race between Hitler and American factories. Today the entire press agrees that America will decide Britain's fate.

Therefore America is in a position to bargain with Britain. The Congressional Record contains proposals that Britain pay for American aid with the West Indies, commercial concessions, investments in factories, railroads, utilities in Latin America, investments in real estate, oil and tobacco companies in the U. S.

To date neither Congress, Roosevelt nor the American press has suggested any bargain involving British Fascism and Democracy. No one demands abolition of the Cliveden Set which ruled Britain while Britain appeased Hitler, still rules Britain while Britain is fighting Hitler, and intends to continue to rule Britain. Even those who propose supplying Britain without charge (Mrs. Roosevelt, Senator Lee) have asked no guarantees that Britain will become a democracy after the war.

Britain Burns Food While Millions Starve

Paradoxically, in Britain itself British democracy is questioned, whereas in America the press and politicians are silent. Occasionally the radio mentions the subject; for example: on the American Forum of the Air and Univ. of Chicago Round Table, Jan 12, it was stated that Hitler came into power with the aid of big business, supported by the British ruling class. Senator Wheeler actually had the courage to ask whether Britain is a democracy today.

Our press tells America that Hitler tyrannizes people, suppresses civil liberties and enslaves workers. This is true. But our press suppresses or buries news unfavorable to the British ruling class, which, as IN FACT made clear in its last issue, is drawing close to fascism.

For example, Britain today, while millions starve, is destroying a part of the world's food supply. The food is cocoa, and the reason is market domination. While bombs fall on London, killing rich and poor alike, British big business plans control of world markets in the interests of bigger profits.

The British government has taken over the Gambia, Gold Coast, Nigeria and "Free" French Africa cocoa crop, and established the West African Cocoa Control Board to dispose of 400,000 tons of cocoa. Owing to blockade, Europe will not get the 225,000 tons it drinks in peacetime; owing to ship shortage, Britain and the U S can not obtain 125,000 tons each, their usual quota.

These facts appear only in financial journals. The N Y Cocoa Exchange has difficulty getting exact figures about crop destruction because British and American speculators who know them can use them to make millions in cocoa futures. One remarkable feature of this business is the activity of an African prince, Musa Tete-Ansa, managing director of the Gold Coast and Ashanti Farmers Union. Before the British used the war emergency to get control of the cocoa crop, this organization, similar to California's Associated Farmers, burned part of its own crops to keep prices up.

Britons Speak Up; Americans Silent

Whereas in World War I the American press demanded that Britain free Ireland as proof of democracy, editorial and news columns today claim either that Britain is a democracy now or will be a democracy when World War II ends. Demand for proof of Britain's democratic intentions, such as freedom for India and Indian leaders, comes from Britons, not highly-placed, war-bent Americans.

On Jan 12 2,200 delegates met in a People's Convention in London. The amazing fact that a meeting of labor, liberals, and Communists who opposed the government's war program was possible in Britain—a story which would have bolstered the American press contention that Britain is democratic—was generally suppressed here. The only pre-convention stories in the American commercial press were smears, branding the convention as red, or communist-controlled.

Among the convention's demands were: freedom for India; right for all the people in the British colonies to determine their own destiny; unity of a free Ireland.

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Entered as second-class matter May 16, 1940, at the post office at Long Island City, New York under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Kennedy Silenced

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT refuses to accept Ambassador Kennedy's resignation; he will do so soon, but meanwhile Kennedy is effectively silenced. According to O'Donnell and Fleeson (Capitol Stuff Jan 13) the President "is deliberately holding up the appointment of Kennedy's successor in London because he wants to keep Kennedy on the hook and silent until the aid-British legislation—Bill 1776—has become the law of the land."

Apparently the same reason motivates the American press. IN FACT Jan 13 published one of the biggest stories of the war, extracts from Kennedy's confidential 108-page memorandum, exposing the truth about Britain in wartime. William E. Dodd and Mme. Tabouis used it on station WMCA. Copies were sent all newspapers, commentators, press associations. Federated Press sent out a big story. PM, other papers, noted Washington columnists made inquiries, but to date none has published the story, follow-up or comment.

Huberman vs Ingersoll

RALPH INGERSOLL editor of New York's new PM, has issued a hurt memorandum to his staff beginning, "PM is being ganged up on in connection with the dismissal of Leo Huberman." Huberman, head of PM's labor page, was fired last month (In Fact Dec 30) for "incompetence," an interesting charge in view of Huberman's reputation and accomplishments as a labor reporter. Ingersoll has wanted the dispute to remain "in the family" but outsiders, he says, "continue to bring the unfair, unfounded and unjustified charge that Leo Huberman's dismissal for incompetence implies a change in policy." Included in the outsiders is "George Seldes, writing in a tip sheet called In Fact."

The reason "perhaps a score of CIO union representatives" protested Huberman's dismissal is obvious. They say that Huberman, who stood out against war hysteria and energetically supported militant industrial unionism, was fired as one step in a general Administration campaign against militant labor. (Ingersoll fired him just after seeing President Roosevelt.) As evidence they point to the pages of PM, which from almost the only friend of organized labor in the commercial press, has become the leading pro-war journal in New York.

Labor Page Most Hated

HUBERMAN two weeks ago responded to the charge of incompetence by producing a report from Ingersoll to PM stockholders excoriating all PM editors and departments except Huberman and the labor page. "The Labor Department has received many, many compliments," wrote Ingersoll. "It is almost the only integrated, purposeful department in PM—the only department which gives

Among demands for internal change were: higher living standards, restoration of union rights, civil liberties, end of profiteering, adequate air raid shelters.

American Press Misrepresents Convention

The United Press story reported 2,500 delegates "claimed to represent 1,500,000 workers and including a smattering of Communists," whereas the redbaiting NYTimes started its story with the word "Communists" and omitted the number of workers represented by the delegates. The Times subhead also said "Communists seem dominant" and the story mentioned nothing about freedom of colonial peoples. The UP reported that D N Pritt, Member of Parliament, referred to:

"India, denied its independence, where teeming millions are exploited for the profit of British and native rulers and investors; Nigeria, where women protesting against a reduction of wages were shot; Gambia, where an attempt was made to smash trade unions because the workers exercised their right to strike; Kenya, where natives protesting the robbery of their land were imprisoned or transported unless they agreed to work for those who robbed them." Note that the worst British imperialistic terrorism occurred in cocoa-raising countries.

Harry Adams, chairman of convention committee and building trades union organizer, attacked war profiteers: "Persons who make the largest profits are shouting the loudest about peace and democracy." The first aim of the British government, said Adams, seemed to be "the preservation of the empire and the profit-making system."

To the red-baiting charge that the convention was helping the enemy, Pritt replied: "These critics are merely liars. We have been enemies of Hitler and his system while these critics—the Press Lords, bankers, industrial bosses—were licking his boots."

The Hearst press generally omitted the story. NYNews and PM ran only 2-inch stories.

British and Italian Policy Against Negroes

When the Portuguese began raiding the African coast for slaves to sell to America, many Negro tribes enjoyed as high a culture and civilization as the Portuguese. Some tribes had a highly developed social system. (Paul Robeson, the great singer, who has lived in Africa studying its civilization, has so informed IN FACT's editor.)

The British policy everywhere is to treat colored people as inferior. There is no scientific ground for this; it merely disguises the realities of exploitation. The British policy, established by Lord Lugard, first World War governor of Nigeria, later British member of the Permanent Mandate Commission of the League of Nations, has been taken over by Italian Fascists. Said Mussolini's Agenzia Coloniale:

"Regulations for the protection of the prestige of the race among the natives of Italian Africa have already come into force. The majority of Italians in the imperial territories are, already, awake to the absolute value of prestige and racial integrity.

"Lord Lugard's well-known phrase, 'It is better to make the African a good African than a bad European' is now engraved on the tablets of all colonial governments. . . .

"From a strictly economic point of view, it cannot be denied that only by means of a clear-cut separation of the two races and of a substantial recognition of the inferiority of the African race, especially in connection with native labor, can a certain economic exploitation of African territories be obtained, to the advantage not of the colonizers only, but of the natives themselves."

(This admission of British-Italian exploitation of the Negroes was suppressed in all but the first edition of the NYTimes, Jan 9 1940.)

Tuberculosis for Natives; \$\$\$ for Britons

The American Navy, taking over bases in British colonies, will soon see the results of British colonial exploitation. For example, 70% of Jamaica's million people react positively to tuberculosis test. This fact was established by the Royal Commission Investigating Conditions in the British West Indies. The British Clivedeners have grown rich from sugar, cocoa, bananas and other West Indian products; when the war started a large part of the Jamaica banana crop was burned, increasing British profits and further depressing Jamaica living standards.

Here is a summary of the Royal Commission report by Wm LaVarre:

"The report of the Royal Commission . . . would be of great interest now to US Congressmen. It dissipates all glamor and romance about the West Indies in its first sentence. It tells things about Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, St. Lucia which no tourist booklet ever dared divulge.

"Studying the increasing strikes, riots, hunger marches, and 'down-arms day' unrest, to which the Foreign Office had been deaf and blind as long as possible, the Commission stated the following facts: A great part of the population of 2,500,000 (natives) were only occasionally employed. The majority of the people were underfed. Housing conditions were deplorable, in the plantations as well as in the towns. Sanitation in 90% of the area was described as 'non-existent.' A large section of the population of each island suffered from malnutrition, especially the children. Infant mortality, due to lack of prenatal and infancy care, was increasing.

"The Commission minced no words in blaming the West Indian disaster on Colonial Office policies which administered each island solely for the purpose of securing for England cheap tropical imports and selling highpriced English exports—and not for the economic benefit of the island or its inhabitants. Planters had to export their crops at low prices to London and pay high prices for English imports. English banks loaned only for export crops which the Colonial Office wanted, sugar, cocoa, tobacco, and such annual crops as England could profitably use. They would not finance plants for the production of diversified crops which the people of the island needed or which could be sold outside the British Empire. The banks, at high interest rates, would finance highpriced purchases if made from English manufacturers, but not those which local importers might obtain at lower prices from non-English sources.

clear evidence of knowing what it's about and evidence also of progress toward its objectives." Huberman concluded: "Since Ralph Ingersoll is an honest man and an honest editor, we must assume that he was telling the truth to his stockholders on August 7." Rich original backers of PM hated labor page most.

Most interesting point made in Ingersoll's August report to the stockholders:

"Our labor news section is probably our most important identification as a liberal paper. I am sure that in these violent times there would be an intense reaction against us if we dropped it. . . ."

Rescue Ship Repels Boarders

BEHIND the flurry of excitement last week when Mrs. Roosevelt resigned from the Spanish Rescue Ship Mission lies a bitter competition between two New York evening papers for the privilege of destroying a great humanitarian undertaking by the use of a red label.

Last April information reached the Spanish Refugee Relief committee in New York that the French government had ordered all Spanish Loyalists in French concentration camps to return to Spain. The committee picketed the French consulate to protest virtual death warrant for 150,000 men and women who had fought fascism for three years. New York mounted police broke up the picket line, arrested the pickets. The NY Post, owned and edited by George Backer, personal friend of right-wing committee members who opposed the picket line because "it embarrassed France," carried an objective story in its first edition. Backer then intervened, and in later editions picketing was front-paged as a "red plot." The Post denied that the French government ever issued such an order, sent telegrams to 35 prominent liberals demanding that they disassociate themselves from the picket line on penalty of being redbaited by the Post. In Fact editor's statement was cut, part blaming French fascism suppressed. When Associated Press confirmed the French order closing the camps a week later, the Post ran the story on an inside page.

Through it all Howard's World Telegram was silent, though it had previously shown its feelings about Spanish refugees by killing a section of a column by Mrs. Roosevelt favoring aid for anti-fascist refugees.

Roy Howard Takes Over

BY last week the Rescue Ship Mission, organized by members expelled from the original refugee committee and headed by Helen Keller, had raised \$30,000 toward a ship to bring Spanish Loyalists to Latin America. The west coast NMU had offered to sail the ship free. France had agreed to let the refugees out, Mexico had agreed to let them in, and Mexican diplomats were negotiating with the belligerent governments to give them free passage through the war zone.

At this moment members of the original committee, now led by Herman Reisig, let it be known to a World Telegram reporter that Mrs. Roosevelt had withdrawn her name from the Rescue Ship a month before. The result was a sensational series of stories declaring that Mrs. Roosevelt withdrew because the Rescue Ship was under "unfortunate auspices"—meaning red. The NYTimes also smeared the ship, frontpaging Mrs. Roosevelt's resignation. Next day,

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Section 2, under the head "First Lady Too Busy for Spanish Drive; Mrs. Roosevelt Did Not Quit Rescue Ship Because Rescue Ship Plan Was Linked to Reds," it explained that she had withdrawn because she wanted to work with another organization — in this case, the Red Cross, which last week was completing arrangements to send food to General Franco. The Times also noted that only a half dozen people withdrew with her. Fifty or sixty other liberals, refusing to be intimidated by redbaiting, reaffirmed support of Rescue Ship.

Meanwhile the Post preserved a jealous silence, running only one brief story during the whole controversy.

Silence on Coughlinites

FOR many months the New York press has published big and little items about the investigation of the Civil Service Commission of which Paul J. Kern is president. For the first time in decades the Commission is attempting to give jobs to the most fit, best educated, regardless of race, color, religion and politics. This has made many elements, notably Tammany Hall and Coughlinites, furious. Everyone in New York knows that the present investigation is the work of Coughlinites, Christian Mobilizers, and corrupt politicians, but no newspaper mentions the facts. (IN FACT'S source for its statements: Paul Kern.)

"You may freely quote me as saying that the Christian Front (Coughlinite) is the main backer of the case against us," Kern states. The campaign was started by Social Justice last September. Kern points to "flagrant anti-Semitic articles in Social Justice against our new police list, which for the first time in NYC history contained a considerable number of Jewish names." Previously Tammany had been able to manipulate the civil service; Commissioner Valentine recently found his force full of Coughlinites.

The worst anti-civil service offender in NYC is the Times. IN FACT has a 2,500-word report listing detailed cases of mishandling the news by the Times for the purpose of destroying the first really impartial and honest commission in years. This report charges that the Times overplays every episode aimed to harm the commission, suppresses everything favorable.

The Very Honest Press

ALTHOUGH IN FACT knows little about ASCAP-BMI radio music controversy, it notes the following facts:

1. Some 200 of the nation's 600 radio stations are newspaper-owned or controlled.

2. Col McCormick (WGN Chicago), and other reactionaries, are anti-ASCAP.

3. Editor & Publisher headlines: NEWSPAPER-OWNED STATIONS SIDE WITH BMI IN ASCAP FIGHT.

4. American press has been generally one-sided in reporting the conflict.

The conclusion is obvious.

Will B. Johnstone, whose cartoons appear daily in Scripps-Howard papers, is an ASCAP member. Some months ago he drew a 6-panel picture for the World-Telegram, other Howard papers. One panel showed an announcer for "Station NG" saying, "Kate Smith will now sing 'Yes, we have no good music today.'" Other song titles: "Rhapsody in old ex-

The colonists were no better off in 1940 than the colonists of the 18th Century had been."—(Congressional Record Sept 25 40; inserted by Rep. Tinkham.)

"Everywhere the investigators found squalor, economic decay, unrest . . . a hierarchy of Whites and an exploited mass of Blacks, Chinese and East Indian coolies. The West Indies were the victims of unrepresentative government. . . ."—Time, March 4 1940.

Appeasement for American Democracy

In the December British "War Commentary," just received by IN FACT, the proposal is made that the British Government free the great Indian leader, Nehru, not as a matter of justice, but to win over Americans who are doubtful about British democracy.

An American friend of a noted Indian sends IN FACT a letter he has received from India mentioning the unsuccessful British attempt to recruit native civic guards. The letter has been cut to pieces by the censor. One line reads: "There will be no freedom and the . . . will be worse." The deleted word may be "famine" or "rebellion" or "disobedience."

Facts About "Democracy" in India

The British investment in India in 1916 was estimated at between \$1,950,000,000 and \$2,250,000,000. Profits on this investment are far higher than on British investments in the British Isles.

The Viceroy of India, an Englishman, directly controls a large part of the land, which the government owns. Twenty percent of India consists of government forests to which Indian peasants are forbidden access. One third of India belongs to 562 native princes, nabobs, feudal chiefs, who rule 80,000,000 people. Britain takes no account of these people, except to obtain taxes from their rulers. Twenty percent of the real income of the peasants goes to the government as land tax.

"Whenever any ferment (in the native states) grows serious," writes V K Krishna Menon, "the British government steps in, often with its army, and holds down the people for the princes."

"India today is largely illiterate; in pre-British India literacy was widespread."

"The peasants and workers, besides being hungry and starved, live under a heavy burden of debts—to the government, landlords, moneylenders."

TOBACCO SHORTENS LIFE (Part 2)

No publication in America, outside of scientific journals, told the whole story of how tobacco shortens human life, as detailed in the last issue of IN FACT. (In brief: Dr. Pearl, biologist at Johns Hopkins, published documented findings from 7,000 cases proving that between the ages of 30 and 60, 61% more heavy smokers die than non-smokers, and that the impairment to longevity among light smokers is "measurable and significant.")

In New York the Herald Tribune, Sun, News, Mirror, Post, and Journal-American suppressed this story, although the Associated Press, United Press and Hearst's International News sent it out, and although science reporters turned in stories. The Times and World-Telegram buried a few lines, omitting Pearl's frightening death tables.

Then, after having suppressed the story, the same newspapers attacked Sec'y of the Interior Ickes because he intimated that "the press" suppressed the story, without qualifying his statement by adding that a mere 98 or 99% of the press suppressed it.

Here follows the evidence of the venality of the press as regards tobacco—an industry which pays the press \$50,000,000 a year.

Venial Metropolitan Press

The American press bears other grudges against Ickes, who is the hatchet man of the Administration when it comes to newspapers. Editors and publishers let loose a terrific campaign in which not one of Mr. Ickes' main arguments was answered.

The Herald Tribune's editorial, headed "Mr. Ickes Stumbles," said that "he was guilty of more misstatements and misrepresentations of fact than we have been led to expect from even a spokesman of the Administration." Mr. Ickes had also said that the HT refused an ad for Lords of the Press. Continued the HT editorial: "No advertisement of this book was ever refused by the Herald Tribune." This is a falsehood. Photostats of the proofsheets of the censored ad, set up by the HT, appeared in the labor press throughout the U S.

The Federated Press, serving the labor press (which is not venal, and which gets precious little cigaret advertising) reported that the HT not only suppressed the tobacco story but claimed it never saw it. FP said: "Wilbur Forest, executive editor (said) his paper had been scooped on the tobacco story. Asked how an Associated Press member could be scooped on an AP story, he explained that the HT does not get the AP local service. This excuse was punctured by AP executives, who insisted that the story went not only to the HT but also to other NY papers that failed to print a line." Here is the private FP report of Jan 20 1938: "Talked with X of AP (he did not want his name used) and he put the finger on Forrest. After I got it straight that the HT did receive the story, I told X that they denied it. He stuck to his story, even called back to say that Howard Blakeslee, science editor, had personally covered the Pearl story."

Where Was Doctor Pearl?

A large part of the controversy hinged on Dr. Pearl. In preparing the evidence, the present editor of IN FACT wrote Dr. Pearl, who replied:

"I may say that the newspaper coverage on my statement regarding the association between tobacco smoking and longevity was very widespread. Without taking the trouble to count them, for which I have not the time to spare, I should say that the point was amply and promptly reported in no less than 250 daily and weekly newspapers in this country."

Inasmuch as a search at the New York Public Library revealed that no San Francisco, Los Angeles, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati newspaper, or, in fact, any big newspaper besides the Washington Post, had covered the story, Dr. Pearl was asked to name two or three newspapers, outside of country dailies and country weeklies (which are not subsidized by tobacco advertising) which ran his story. He refused to answer.

There are 300 big daily papers in America, some 1,700 fairly big dailies and 18,000 weeklies. Apparently Dr. Pearl had 249 country paper clippings plus the Washington Post. Science Service, asked to look through its files, found only the Washington Post story and the two buried references in New York.

But no sooner had Ickes mentioned Pearl than the AP rushed out a column story which the Times headlined: "Contradicts Ickes On Tobacco Story—Johns Hopkins Biologist Says Report . . . Was Widely Published.—'No Press Suppression.'"

Since then several senators, librarians and others have asked for details from Johns Hopkins biology department. It has steadfastly refused to reply.

Medical Journal Confirmation

When Wm L Laurence, science writer, told Managing Editor Edwin L James of the Times (Mar 12 1939) that there was an interesting story on tobacco in the Journal of the American Medical Association, James, who has been very sensitive to charges of venality on the great American Thunderer, asked, "Does it confirm or deny what Seldes said against the Times?" Laurence replied it pretty well confirmed the Johns Hopkins findings. James was disappointed.

The Journal reported that studies at Northwestern showed that excessive cigaret smoking provokes vomiting and diarrhea, while in any particular person "the functioning of one of the bodily systems may be affected more than another." Experiments were made by Dr J G Schedorf and Prof A C Ivy. In patients suffering from gastro-intestinal complaints, some apparently deleterious effects of tobacco may be secondary to disturbances of the heart and blood vessels. Persons with marked changes in heart rate or blood pressure in response to smoking should be advised to stop as "these changes determine the deleterious effect of smoking on the heart and blood vessels," the physicians concluded.

Mr. Laurence then added to his story a summary of Pearl's findings, 28 lines, giving the facts which the Times had partially suppressed one year earlier. (Source: Mr. Laurence.)

Big Money in Cigarets

Six cigaret companies grossed \$200,000,000 in 1937 (SEC report). A combined profit after all charges of \$83,000,000 that year was reported by the Census of American Listed Corporations (April 5 1939).

The major companies spent as high as \$50,000,000 a year on advertising, notably:

Company	Best Known Brand	1937	1939
Reynolds	Camels	\$15,422,744	\$9,296,470
Liggett & Myers	Chesterfield	14 822 120	8 926 148
Lorillard	Old Gold	9 714 286	1 722 563
American Tobacco	Lucky Strike	7 441 554	5 002 056

The newspapers, Editor & Publisher, Saturday Evening Post, all say that advertising has nothing to do with editorial policy. The facts are:

1. The cigaret companies spend up to \$50,000,000 a year.
2. News inimical to tobacco is not published.
3. 99% of the American press suppresses government fraud orders against advertisers.



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pired copyrights," "Melodeon flops of 1864." In the last panel the announcer said, "We now bring you the amateur hour with works of composers controlled by the networks. We pause a moment for you to tune out."

The cartoon was suppressed after appearing in an early edition. The magazine "Broadcasting" asked why; it was told the space was needed. Roy Howard owns the following radio stations: WNOX, Knoxville; WCPO, Cincinnati; WMC and WMPS, Memphis.

Henry Ford Exposed

FULL page advertisements, are appearing in hundreds of American newspapers and many magazines, claiming that the Ford Motor Co., now under attack by the United Auto Workers, pays high wages. Most newspapers and magazines accept the ads, say nothing; venal newspapers and magazines write pro-Ford pieces. Only two publications have exposed Ford's ad as untrue: PM, which refuses ads, and Friday magazine (Jan 24) which printed the ad but used a page editorial to attack Ford, announced that the ad money would go to the Christmas Basket Fund of CIO auto-workers, and showed that Chrysler and Briggs pay higher wages than Ford.

Furthermore, Friday began a most sensational exposé of Ford's anti-Semitism, proving that although in 1927 Ford begged Louis Marshall to forgive him for his anti-Semitic activities, he continued them without let-up.

It also revealed that W. J. Cameron, second only to Coughlin in anti-Semitic activities in America, swore falsely in obtaining his citizenship papers.

Scores of readers who wanted more documentation on Ford after reading IN FACT Oct 21 and Nov 18 will find Friday's exposé startling.

More Good News

MORE good news for Americans who want the truth despite the press: Consumers Union, which does for commodities what IN FACT does for news, announces a weekly newsletter about prices, goods, food; about government orders against crooked advertising; about what goods to buy and not to buy. One dollar a year; address 17 Union Square, NYC.

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